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A P P E A L

TO

C A S E

OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK

IN

PUBLIC AFFAIRS



TO THE
K I N G.

S I R,

I Am very sensible how tender a point it is to attempt to bring before a Sovereign, the defects of an administration ; and it would be more delicate still, did I propose only to inform your Majesty of the errors of a particular set of men now in power. But I am not here striking at men, but things, and those not merely
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the product of to-day, or confin'd to your Majesty's reign; but of evils, many whereof have their root far backward, and in general such as your Majesty can only contribute to dissipate, not absolutely of your own power annihilate. So that I hope the presenting to your Majesty's view the unhappy situation of our affairs, will not in any sense be taken as an intention to reflect on your government, either personally or ministerially; but rather as wishing your Majesty to be the happy instrument of retrieving our affairs, and thereby of perpetuating to your illustrious posterity, peaceful and tranquil reigns. I have yet farther to hope, that the following remarks will not be construed as dictates, but merely as intimations, such as those one man would give to another whom he lov'd and honour'd.

That we wish to be happy and easy, is true; and we wish so the more, that we may be able to render your Majesty a participation of those blessings. As this can only be by bringing our affairs into the best situation possible, and as to that end no rational remedy can be prescribed, without being thoroughly acquainted with the diseases that affect the body politic; so the intimating to your Majesty what they are, seems the only probable means of procuring salutary remedies, which is the reason, and the sole reason, which guides me in this honest, though bold pursuit.

The first, Sir, I shall enter upon, is the nature of our debts and taxes; arising, I conceive, from two causes, bad neighbours, and temporary expedients. On this subject permit me, Sir, to observe, That no nation ever had bad neighbours, or what is

the same thing, that dare to shew themselves such, when the internal state was so managed, as that men and money were ever at the Sovereign's command. On the contrary, when either or both of these appear'd to have been wanted, the depravity of human nature, the error of ambition, and wicked desire of robbing mankind of their liberty and possessions, of their peace and happiness, has ever stimulated them on to the pursuit of violent courses, still operating on the weakest. To be weak then, Sir, is to be the bait at which all catch ; and to be deeply in debt, and to have our taxes ill laid, a certain sign of weakness.

This, Sir, brings me to the point----The nature of our debts are such, that supposing we pay only the interest of fifteen millions to foreigners, it lessens, if not entirely carries off the whole balance of our trade ;

trade ; and if that should appear to be the case, it evidently follows, that we are in no better situation than those who trade not all ; and consequently can only defend ourselves, but not in any sense impede the progress of ambitious neighbours, without still increasing this debt, and with it all the fatal consequences, unless it shall appear that some general change in the system of our taxes is capable, by a quite new turn of affairs, to bring us an ample remedy. I say fifteen millions at a venture ; it is a point not capable of being ascertain'd, but so it is taken from the general judgment of men, as being near a fourth part of the whole ; and if drawn off on a sudden must inevitably empty the kingdom of all the current cash. Thus we not only support and cherish many who mean us no good, but put ourselves at their mercy into the bargain.

gain. This, Sir, seems to be the plain state of the case so far, and can in no sense be remedied, by any means in present practice: on the contrary, we daily improve this evil, without so much as seeming to dream of the consequences; and serve our purposes by means and expedients that only hasten our ruin.

Please, Sir, only to observe a modern instance, of a piece with most of the former; a tax is laid on glass in the manufacturing, on the materials whereof it is composed; the meaning whereof is, that the consumer should pay two taxes instead of one,---that is to say, one to the state, the other to the manufacturer, and yet both the consumer and manufacturer is hurt, because one must raise the price on the other, in proportion to the tax, to the interest of that money advanced, and by increasing the capital another interest. I therefore humbly pre-
sume

sume it very clear, that every tax laid on manufactures or trade doubles the evil of a tax, and consequently in proportion involves us in new difficulties. A thorough acquaintance with this single article gives us a clear idea of all the rest, and therefore it is needless to repeat them. However, it may not be amiss here to make some cursory remarks on the whole system, by way of a general elucidation.

I need not say that this is a bad tax, nor consequently a good expedient, because even in this road an improv'd tax on windows only, equally laid, would have done much more with less mischief ; but the mystery lies here, this tax is only known to the manufacturer, while the consumer is suppos'd not to feel it, because he does not pay it to the officers of the state ; so that to save appearances we are cheated into a double tax, and have only the pleasure
of

of reflecting that we are to be ruin'd insensibly. But the misfortune is, that the burthen is felt in the end, and then all this finesse ceases. Your Majesty from hence will plainly infer, that such arts are not the highest qualifications of a statesman, nor that thus cunningly increasng our burthen can by any means tend to our relief. Our debts must plainly increase, and every million we add gather upon us like a snow-ball in the rolling ; but how to dissolve it when we have done is the least of our consideration.

Your Majesty's interest in this matter is equal to all the rest of the nation ; and therefore the loading the nation with bad taxes, and increasing the public debts, is as it were mortgaging your crown irretrievably ; putting it out of the power of your subjects to redeem it, and in the power of your enemies abroad to make your interests
just

just what they please ; a kind of slavery I am well assured you have a just abhorrence of. Yet this, I presume, is but too evidently the case, and calls for the utmost of your Majesty's care and attention to give a timely remedy to.

I shall beg leave, in the next place, to lay before your Majesty a point whereof all men talk, few consider, and perhaps none go to the bottom of---It is the sending of our troops into the continent. The benefits proposed are, to impede the ambitious pursuits of the house of *Bourbon*, and to prevent thereby its being possessed of the maritime coast of *Flanders* ; because if that house should make and hold such an acquisition, the naval power of *France* would increase, and your Majesty's *British* dominions be always in danger---I will not presume any other reason, but endeavour to speak effectually to this.

It is, Sir, a point which has been understood for many centuries; and all sides of the question have agreed it to be a matter so clear and obvious as never to admit of dispute: but the question turns here, on what are the most natural means to that end? The judgment of some have been to send over an army from this island, on a general presumption, as I conceive, either that our own soldiers are better men, or more to be depended upon, or both: That is to say, more under our immediate direction than mercenaries, or even allies. But how far this has prov'd true, your Majesty is the best judge. It seems to us as if the event had not justify'd the conclusion hitherto. How far it would have so done, had not such pursuits been impeded by interruptions at home, is very difficult to say; but it is very clear, that the money drawn out of the nation by this means, has
been

been much more than our balance of trade would answer ; and the natural consequence of that, in a short series of years, would probably undo us, more especially as that is not the only drain, as I shall mention hereafter. Our transport service on this occasion I call nothing ; for that, like our other naval affairs, is only shifting or playing about the money among ourselves ; but what the officers spend abroad, over and above the handsome allowance made by the state, is a very great addition to this drain ; some say, as much as the pay of the army besides ; which I am convinced your Majesty would be very sorry to find true, for two reasons ; the one, as it could only tend to enervate and debauch them ; the other, that it carried out so much more of our wealth than was necessary, and consequently weakened the nation doubly, by the ruin of the

officers, and by the loss of our wealth, squander'd in a country where the enemy was master, and consequently thrown into his hands. On the other side, it did for a time open us a good trade for our woollen goods into the north; but then the raising of so many soldiers, a great part whereof were manufacturers, lessened our profit considerably by the want of hands, which made labour dear. And it seems, that if instead of this method we had employ'd mercenaries, or with a certain sum of money aided our allies, trade would have been improv'd on a more advantageous footing, and our manufacturers not spoiled by being made soldiers.

There is still another matter, which, had it been warmly attended to, seems capable, by what it has done, to have effectually answer'd the great end aim'd at, the keeping of the enemy

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my out of *Flanders*---This, Sir, was the increasing of our naval power, and attending to that more particularly. While the *French* trade ran without convoy, private adventurers did the business for us; and when they grew wiser it seem'd necessary to do it for ourselves, by having the gross of our navy to consist chiefly of ships from forty to seventy guns; because such are nearer being the enemies equals, properer for cruising, and not requiring such a number of men as are necessary for our capital ships, which are really of but very little use, take up too many of our seamen, increase the charge of the navy, hinder us from having a sufficient number of such as are proper, and turn to no manner of account, unless to be gaz'd at.

The ruining of the *French* trade, is certainly the means of distressing them in point of wealth, and the want of wealth the surest bar to their
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pursuits

purfuits on the continent ; hence it follows that the naval power duly attended to, would probably have damp'd all their defigns : and this naval power in effect costs us nothing comparatively fpeaking ; fince even the balance we pay for naval ftores abroad, would be amply made up to us, by the profit naturally arifing to our general commerce, on the ruins of that of *France* : and which balance is not computed to arife to more, than our officers annually fquander'd away, over and above their pay in the army.

This, Sir, brings our argument to a point. It is---that all the money fent over to *Flanders* leffen'd our capital at home, and improv'd that of the enemy ; while what has been beftow'd on the fleet did, or might have leffen'd the capital of the enemy, and improv'd our own. This effential difference, I humbly prefume, eftablifhes

establishes the point in a light not easily to be controverted ; it gives it a lustre and clearness that, I hope, will bring it with great facility to your Majesty's mind ; and, if the reflection be just, stamp it there indelibly.

As all this is connected with, and dependant on our debts and taxes, I shall beg leave to return again to that part of the argument. Our public securities, as they now stand, seem not to be consider'd in the light every good subject could wish. The war having occasion'd a material difference in the interest of our money, those who gave the public credit in time of peace, and agreed to take less than the customary interest, even since the war began, and by their contract have it not in their power to call in their capital at par, are sensibly injur'd, if more interest be paid to others upon new contracts ;
because

because the increase of interest, on a similar capital on one side, sinks its value on the other. This appears from the present state of our stocks; some of them are fallen near 30 *per cent.* and should the war continue, and the interest increase, must still fall much lower; while it is very plain, that what is gain'd by an advance of interest, to a few particular people, is no way a balance for the loss and sufferings of thousands. And as every one *per cent.* rais'd in the interest of the new debts, falls the old 25, besides the previous advance on the capital, the loss is too great not to require the utmost attention; it is sinking a fourth part of the capital debts on the public, which can never be rais'd again, unless that either an interest be added on the one side, or lower'd on the other, so as to bring both on a par. That money can't be borrow'd at a
lower

lower rate at present may be very true ; but that an interest may be added to the old debts until better times present to lower them together, is both clear and just. That this interest will increase the public debt is certain ; so it will the public credit too ; otherwise people will naturally fear hereafter the same fate as has now befallen them ; and rather let their money lie without any interest at all, than hazard the losing of as much by their capital in one year, as they gain'd by their interest in ten. It is but little to say, that foreigners are concern'd as well as natives ; public credit regards all mankind who repose a confidence in it equally ; though the truth seems to be, that not above one fourth of the public debts are the property of foreigners ; and therefore what money they can draw out, on the difference of one *per cent.* added, is in no sense

adequate to the loss on the capital of the other three fourths. That this may return to its old channel, and come right again in the event, is more than probable ; but what injury it may do to multitudes, whose money only lies there till fit opportunity presents, of better employing it, is not easily foreseen. For if even this additional interest propos'd, was in the event, to annihilate so much of the capital as it amounts to, the great end of supporting public credit would be answer'd ; the stockjobbers only lose that interest they lose now, and their capital be as good as ever.

This shews the evil in a distinguished light, as it is capable of so easy and natural a remedy ; and yet is so much disregarded, or, at least, that is not studied and attended to as it ought to be, I presume, because it has not occurred to the observation of those who should be your Ma-
 2 jesty's

jeſty's remembrancers on this occaſion, and to whom ſuch like affairs are intruſted.

To lay this forgetfulneſs, or want of penetration, open to your Maſteſty, by diſſecting all its parts, and intimating all the growing evils naturally conſequent thereof, would be too diſcuſe and prolix for the narrow compaſs of this addreſs ; and perhaps give your Maſteſty more trouble, than might be eſteem'd pertinent ; it being ſufficient that your Maſteſty is appriz'd of the nature of the evil, and of the remedy, without troubling your royal ear with too many curious particulars.

I ſhall next beg leave to enter more generally on the ſtate and nature of our taxes. The intention of taxes ſeems to be an equal levy, or contribution, on the ſubject, in proportion to his ability ; becauſe, as the preſervation and ſupport of the ſtate

depends on taxes, he that has most to lose, is most deeply interested in its preservation. It is natural to conclude hence, that all taxes should be laid equal, and that where they are not so laid, injustice follows. There is, besides this, a judicious rule to be observ'd in the laying of taxes ; that they may be rais'd with the greatest ease and cheapness ; that they may be paid but once ; and that they may not damp trade and industry.

As to equality, our first and principal tax springs up before us, and looks like the *French* taille, levied at the will of the farmers and receivers general. This, Sir, is our land-tax ; to which some lands, of equal value, pay five shillings, others not five pence. These, Sir, are the two extremes ; the medium is very difficult to be investigated ; but that the fact is true, all those about your Majesty
are

are well apprized. How this happens seems immaterial, since the remedy is known and obvious.

The next, Sir, is our tax on windows, which, with the above properly laid, would, without any other, bring in a revenue superior to any yet ever levied : but the disposition is so unequal, the manner of it so wrong, that its produce is but a trifle. It is calculated and levied on three unequal statings---*viz.* nineteen windows pay about $3\frac{3}{4}$ *d. per* window ; twenty nine windows pay about $8\frac{1}{2}$ *d. per* window ; and sixty windows, six pence each six, windows, pay twelve pence each ; and so do twenty and thirty. Thus all above thirty, twenty, and six, except the specified numbers, produce less than a shilling each : Therefore, to lay a shilling on each window, therefrom a tax of about one third more would arise than is now paid.---

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The objection is, that those who can best afford to pay this tax, don't chuse to let equality take place; though, in truth, they are mistaken, there being more of the trading world who have above thirty windows, than of the nobility and gentry.---However this may be, it is pretty certain, that if ten shillings was laid on each window, and the 4 s. aid equal on land, the amount would be about nine millions; which, though not near the sum we pay now, is considerably more than the revenues ever amount to, as shall be obviously made appear, in its proper place.

Local taxes, on what is stable, and visible, will always be best; because what is rais'd on them, is simply the money rais'd on the community, which neither gives those on whom it is levied, opportunity of making a market of others, nor obliges them to do it. The course of commerce
and

and manufactures are not thereby impeded, which, being at liberty to act freely, operate in their full force and efficacy, and render the otherwise seeming heavy taxes light and easy.

If traders grow rich, landed people must be so of course : it being trade alone that raises the value of land, and of all the commodities it produces. Besides, that in the case of the above taxes, the trading people will pay the greater part by much, as they are the principal possessors of houses ; and have no small share in the possessions of lands, and together have much more intrinsic property than the mere landed men have. So that, if these taxes took place, they would not fall on the mere landed men, as they imagine, not near so much as now---For the trader, as taxes are circumstanc'd, pays none for the respective commodities they deal in. On the contrary, they
make

make a property of these very taxes, and throw the weight doubly and trebly on the consumer ; which will obviously appear on the different prices commodities bore, before they were tax'd, the tax laid on them, and the price now. In this case I will only instance leather, which, before the duty was impos'd, sold from $5 \frac{1}{2} d.$ to $6 \frac{1}{2} d.$ *per* pound, a duty has been laid of $1 \frac{1}{2} d.$ *per* pound, and the price just now is double ; so that the workman pays this tax four times over ; and what the consumer pays, is impossible to say, but certainly much more---Tea, malt, beer, soap, candles, salt, sugar, rum, &c. are all articles which tend to the elucidation of this matter, though not equally. And some of them have created inconveniencies not to be surmounted.

The duties on tea, while they were moderate, did not so much affect

affect us ; but so soon as the duty carried the price above ordinary purchasers, it was immediately run in upon us from abroad, the duties turn'd four shillings into twelve, and the runners could sell it at six. The consequence appears obvious; the runners sold three pounds to the fair traders one, the revenue sunk in proportion as the tax rose, and we paid more to foreigners than our revenue amounted to---This has been lately seen, after the loss of at least four millions to the nation, and of one to the revenue.

The duties on malt, hops, beer, soap, candles, and salt, are certainly equal taxes, but not profitable ones; the least of these is the salt, because it has a commission, and particular officers appropriated, which is not the case of the others: and it may be said to the honour of the excise office, that the expence on their part

is as little as possible ; and the revenue very well taken care of. In the case of salt, the mischief multiplies in a different manner from the rest ; it hinders the manuring of wet cold land, wherewith this kingdom abounds ; and we consequently lose a proportion of its product. Salt, without duty, is cheap enough to use, and goes far in such operation ; which renders the carriage cheap and easy : we besides lose the benefit of exportation, which no draw-backs will rightly answer : they tend much to frauds and perjury ; but rarely answer the good end of their creation.

The duties on rum and sugar, only raise the enemies market, and would seem to be calculated to transfer to them our *American* island trade ; the produce is principally expended here, and is the very same case, as laying it on our own manufactures---If the mount of *Cornwall* was extended to,
and

and join'd with *Jamaica*, and it was all called *England*, men would see this plain enough ; but the sea dividing us, makes them think differently. It is merely imaginary ; they are as much part of ourselves, as if they traded from *Falmouth*. It is only name and distance that misleads us on this occasion, not the fact and reality.

Thus, most gracious Sir, you see, within a very narrow compass, some of the most material defects in this branch of the political state of the kingdom : that the defects are obvious and glaring ; the remedy easy and natural ; not to be apply'd at once, but coolly and gradually. The rest, which concerns this matter, now the principles are opened and explain'd, needeth not men of great genius, to furnish your Majesty with further information as to these points.

I shall beg leave now to observe to your Majesty another matter, founded on this obvious maxim---That every shilling clandestinely got from us by our enemy is two against us, besides the accumulating injury.

This, Sir, relates to the infamous practice of smuggling in general ; but to some branches more particularly. As to that of running wool, whereby the common enemy is enabled to contend with us, for the benefits of foreign markets, on the credit of robbing us of our products---This wool, Sir, in effect, costs *France* nothing. The tea, other *India* goods, and those of her own manufacture run into this kingdom, gives her a balance, in specie, much exceeding what she pays for our wool. And thus we not only loose the benefit of the manufacture at home, and the trade of the commodity abroad ; but have the general balance
of

the clandestine trade against us. This is increasing the evil every way ; and produces a whimsical absurdity in our political system. We connive at every means tending towards the raising of the power of *France*, by permitting the people here to increase her riches and revenues ; and then increase our own debts, by taxes, &c. in order to guard against the injury she is capable of doing to us, by virtue of that very power we give her. This, in another light, is actually giving money to *France*, to try her strength with us ; and weakening ourselves, to experiment whether our weakest state is equal to her strongest. This may be very brave, generous, and gallant ; but how far it is either political, or has any acquaintance with common sense, your *sovereign* judgment is best able to determine. For my part, I humbly presume it to be the staking of your Majesty's crown,

crown, and our liberties against nothing. It is like a young nobleman giving a sharper money, at a gaming table, to win his estate.

I have observed before, that your Majesty's interest is equal to all the rest of the nation : it is so intended to be by the constitution, by having the negative on both houses, and the executive power, both civil and military. And therefore, although it may be very true, and is so, that such matters are very much the regard of the other branches of the legislature, yet the great care and concern that these things should come properly before them, lies much on your Majesty, and your ministers ; without whose moving warmly in these matters, they are not easily brought to the desired issue. Private views and prejudice, may sever and disunite the councils of numbers, and lead them from the main point ; but where the
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prospect

prospect is simple, and collected, as in your Majesty, the matter, when plainly opened, is soon judged and concluded upon : and when once concenter'd in your Majesty's mind, the dangers that attend your crown, and our liberties, will be immediately guarded against.

This, Sir, is the great point I aim at ; as well knowing, that the happiness and welfare of the Sovereign and the people are mutual and reciprocal : that their liberty, and your sovereignty, like the two legs of a man, are the natural support of each other, and of the whole body.

The great political maxim of a free state, is to avoid all possible occasions of taxation. Had this been thoroughly considered in former times, your Majesty would not have probably worn an incumber'd crown ; and to get this incumbrance now off, is a difficulty not easily surmounted :
but

but as it is possible, so we wish it attempted. Many people say very truly, that the interest of our debts is only paying us our own money again; but they don't consider that dissatisfaction arises from what we pay, not from what we receive; every one feels the weight of the taxes, but few the benefits of the stocks: and as to pay the interest of them, suppose no foreigners concerned, requires more taxes than could be wish'd in the whole, so the raising of taxes for other exigencies, naturally increases the evil. Suppose, Sir, that even the taxes rais'd, were so employ'd, as that they brought into the nation double their value, and every man had not immediately that improvement put into his own hand, but only came so by a course of circulation he didn't see the reason of, he would think such a taxation a very great hardship. Then how much
more

more would he think so, when the case is quite contrary.

A man's cash is part of his property, which he knows the least willingly how to part from ; let this alone, and the legislative power may be, in other respects, as arbitrary as they please. Men who reason against this, mistake the point. Mankind in general don't take pains to consider the use, necessity and consequence of taxes : they only consider how much they pay, and have no farther reflection about the matter.--- Thus the tax wounds, while the good effects produce no remedy----- This your glorious predecessor *Elizabeth* perfectly understood ; and therein lay the chief art and mystery of her happy reign ; though as arbitrary in other respects as any absolute monarch in *Europe*. The people minded not that, as she did'nt take their money, but when absolutely necessary, and

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then used it very sparingly ; all else was right. Not but other matters may give pain and inquietude ; but there is hardly any thing to be invented equal to this.

This turn of mind is not peculiar to the *English* ; all people think the same ; though it may possibly effect those most who are free, as it does particularly in *Switzlerland* ; the only people in the world now free besides ourselves. They have a rule to lay no new taxes ; and, to avoid it, enter into no engagements that may make it necessary ; by which means an uniform establishment is preserv'd, and what men get, is absolutely their own without deduction. If such states never grow richer, they can never be poorer : and if the directors of the public affairs can get any thing out of that, it may not be regarded ; but more is not to be had, they know it, and are content. All
states

states who act on different principles, are subject to violent convulsions, while such as these are eternally serene, tranquil, and the same.

I shall humbly beg leave to make one obvious comparison more. A man who has a clear income of a thousand pounds a year ; and at the same time spends more, borrows to answer this surplus expence ; yet enters into new engagements to increase it ; his ruin is evident as light ; if he endeavours to amend it, either by racking his tenants, or robbing his neighbours, both are dangerous, as well as desperate attempts. It is great odds but one ruins his land, and leaves it ; the other revenges himself by the law of retaliation, and perhaps with interest ; in either case it is only hastening his ruin ; and it will be a very uncomfortable reflection, that his tenants are ruin'd to keep him company.

If taxes were not a real mischief of themselves, the consequences naturally resulting from them would make them so----They are the finest topic in the world to found rebellion on, because the subject hits most sensibly ; and people who are otherwise good subjects, are too often apt to conclude, that promises turn'd this way will mend their state ; without inspecting into either the certainty of such promises being kept, or any other consequences. A man who reasons and reflects deeply, and at the same time imagines that others do the same, had better be an idle-minded man, with no more ideas than his neighbours, because then he would understand them better, and know that the gross of mankind reason from appearances only.

This he might learn from the constitution of our inferior magistracy, from the conduct of our military,
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and from the nature of the present rebellion ; all three very delicate points to address the Sovereign upon ; and such as require your Majesty's greatest condescension and goodness to listen to attentively.

Your Majesty will please to consider this first article, and the rest generally, as arising from incidents and events, not obvious in the first construction. Our civil magistracy was formed before commerce occasioned mens associating together, and building great cities ; when to have authority was esteem'd more honourable than to be wealthy. In consequence whereof men acted on suitable principles : besides, that before a flow of wealth took place, and men were a great deal more separated, complaints of injuries were not so common as at present. There was not then the same temptation, nor the like extremes of wealth and poverty among
us.

us. Men liv'd as they could, without so much desiring to imitate excess or splendor ; and consequently envy and enterprize not so much in their heads or hearts. In this light a magistrate had but little to do, and performed it with pleasure, as is the case in villages now ; but in this town, which is another wilderness, 'tis infinitely different. It is at once both a bait and harbour for villainy, which multiplies for want of a settled magistracy, adapted to the increasing evil. Men may pretend what they please ; but there are none who serve the magistracy out of principle. The consequence whereof is, that it is either not serv'd at all, by such as are appointed, or is serv'd in a manner, that destroys the very notions of magistracy : that is, by paying themselves out of the purses of the wretched and unfortunate. This, Sir, is what claims a remedy within the
bills

bills of mortality ; because it is the means of keeping up the spirit of roguery, which would not be the case if men of honour and fortune were employ'd with suitable salaries ; it not being easily conceiv'd, why they would not deserve them, in proportion, as well as the judges. I need not say what the obvious effects are at present, which the war has in some measure remedied ; but will naturally return on the conclusion of a general peace ; when, as but lately, the public streets were filled with gangs of robbers, and the military power obliged to assist, the civil being found too weak ; which is a very disagreeable reflection to a trading people, who have every reason to pray for, hope, and expect redress.

The next article I shall beg leave to enter upon relates to the army, who are neither cloathed nor conducted, as to the civil part of the government,

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in a manner that either your Majesty expects, or as is agreeable to the great end of their constitution. The plain case, as to this branch of the military is, that were men no way intangled with them, to pay and cloath, as is the case in the navy, the soldiers would neither want what was proper, nor the officers have any temptation to be unjust --On the contrary, they would be a check on those who serv'd in the army ; and false musters and incomplete regiments either not be, or the money would be sav'd to the nation ; which would be an addition to your Majesty's wealth, because it would take the less from the people, who are your Majesty's best bankers ; but this they can't be, if the money is taken from them, and given to those who have no right to it. That it circulates among them in the event, is very true ; but it happens a little unluckily, that it
 does

does not always return into the same pockets it came out of, and this sometimes occasions complaints; but that is what good subjects don't wish should happen, while your illustrious family reigns over us, which I hope will be to the end of time.

It is impossible, Sir, on this occasion, to omit making some farther remarks on the conduct of the royal navy; the civil administration whereof is generally well settled, much better than in any other nation whatsoever, yet is not void of error; I don't mean such little ones as the artifices of clerks to pick peoples pockets: I hope they are redress'd; but I mean in the great point whereon much depends, the use and disposition of our shipping. And that this may appear clear to your Majesty, I shall beg leave to lay it down as a certain maxim, That such ships as cost most, and are of least use, create an unnecessary

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necessary expence, and detriment
 the service. First and second rates
 cost most building and maintaining,
 but are not of the same use as ships
 from seventy guns and downwards.
 The unnecessary expence the capital
 ships create, is the exceedings above
 the expence of a fifty gun ship, that
 being the nearest a medium, between
 the largest and smallest, the difference
 of expence is at least as 8 to 3, and the
 lowest number the most useful ship ;
 consequently the fitting out of three
 fifty gun ships, little more expence
 than one first or second rate, upon an
 average. The first rate is only use-
 ful in a line of battle, and there sel-
 dom necessary. The fifty gun ships are
 fit to cruize in all weathers, and ser-
 viceable on almost all occasions. From
 hence appears the detriment such
 great ships do to the public service, by
 their locking up, if I may so express
 myself, men enough almost for three
 fifty

fifty gun ships, which, as cruizers or convoys, would protect our own trade, or ruin that of the enemy. It is owing to this, Sir, that we sometimes want cruizers and convoys, of which we have so very lately felt the dreadful effects by the loss of vast numbers of our merchants ships, or what is almost as bad, of their voyages, by waiting for convoys. If it was true that the enemy have as large ships, and as many, or that an admiral could not pass his time comfortably in an eighty or even in a seventy gun ship, there would be some pretence for fitting out first and second rates; but as the enemy have not such, or but very few, and the admirals would even go to sea in a long-boat to serve their country, the pretence ceases, and with it the use and expence of capital ships.

The next point, Sir, I am to enter upon, is an extreme tender one,

and which I should not have touch'd, had not my duty to your Majesty, induc'd me to wave all other regards. This is, Sir, the fundamental cause whereon the present rebellion has chiefly established itself. It is, Sir, a maxim I never yet heard controverted, That people in a state of wealth and affluence never rebel : On the contrary, That people who are poor and idle, are always ready to enter into any engagements that may seem likely to better their fortunes. Human nature inclines strongly to ambition ; and therefore whoever throws out that bait, are pretty sure to find many that will bite, without any regard to the goodness of the Sovereign, against whom they can have no particular cause of complaint, unless that he didn't find means to put them into as good a condition, as they are cheated into the hopes of expecting by rebelling.

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From hence I will beg leave to draw a very obvious inference, which is, That had there been due regard to the improvement of the poor people in the *Highlands*, by throwing into their way laudable arts, any significant number of rebels could not have been found ; no clandestine contrivances could have drawn them from scenes of peace and plenty. Wealth and tranquillity disarms the most turbulent minds, and gives them an aversion to warfare, except when it is to defend that wealth which their laudable industry has acquired ; then, indeed, self-preservation, and intense reflection on the labour they have undergone, gives vigour to their spirits, and induces them to act as becomes men, who know what it is to be free and happy, and justly dread the consequence of being made otherwise, by being
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drove out of their acquir'd possessions.

I am very sensible what the northern nobility say to this ; they pretend, that the people are naturally idle, which is false ; it is not in human nature in general, and in particular I know it is not so with them. Idleness is a habit not natural to men, and in this case is absolutely acquired by the pernicious custom of the country ; by the nobility being suffer'd to tyrannize over the poor people, and to breed them up in fixed notions of being their slaves, by teaching them the silly rudiments of being content with a little, while they themselves revel in pomp and luxury ; and by having so many slaves at their beck, have it always in their power to disturb the tranquillity of the state, which in a country of freedom ought, in no sense to be permitted. In this light, after men
have

have been accustomed to idleness, and are grown to years of maturity, with poverty and slavery imbib'd into them as blessings, it is very true, that they can't presently turn their thoughts to labour and industry ; but let these shackles be taken off, and your Majesty will soon see, a *Highlander* as useful and valuable a subject as any your Majesty has ; and in a way too that will not injure the manufactures or trade of any other of your *British* subjects.

The same people by nature, who at *Carthage* of old, carried on the commerce of the world, and made *Rome*, in its highest glory tremble, are those now, who by being enslav'd, idle away the circling year, or batten on spoil and plunder. Instances of this kind are numerous, and as human nature is eternally the same, so the distinction among us is chiefly owing to bad habits. I need
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not intimate to your Majesty how glorious it would be to have it recorded to posterity in our annals, That GEORGE the Second, of the illustrious House of *Hanover*, in possession of the *British* Throne, as it were created a new people in the northern extremities of his dominions, by raising them from slaves and beggars, and rendering them rich, shining, and happy.

That this is to be done and by a ready means too, I hope is not difficult to point out, when the present wicked affair is over, and then the best time imaginable for putting it in execution ; and whereto I don't in the least doubt but your subjects of *England* will readily contribute.

The first step I conceive thereto, is the establishing a constitution in the *Highlands*, for the education of the children in laudable arts ; in two particularly, the cultivation of their
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lands, and the fishery on the coast, without any immediate dependance on their lords, other than the paying them for the lands they rent, as in other parts of your Majesty's dominions.---This would at once improve the lord's estates, and gradually give the industrious people means of becoming proprietors themselves ; and consequently, in a course of time, bring the inhabitants nearer upon a level with those who now presume to make them slaves, and sacrifice them to their mistaken interests.

That these people want neither spirits nor health is very clear, and therefore a small sum of money rightly apply'd to these or such like useful purposes, must certainly be repaid, in the event, with ample interest, and which, for want of being so apply'd, is now spent upon a hazardous event, wherein if we suc-

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ceed,

ceed, as I see no reason to doubt, must either leave the seeds of the evil behind, to spring up and flourish again, or end in the ruin of a people, who, with proper care, might have been made as useful subjects as any in your Majesty's Dominions.---But should we happen to fail, and it is not in human power to assure the contrary, what can follow but ruin, destruction and misery? And this hazarded purely for the want of skill and foresight in those who assume to themselves, under your Majesty, the conduct of public affairs, and who have idly given away, in one late article, to a few people, four times as much money as would probably, by being apply'd in the manner abovesaid, have procured to your Majesty and people, perpetual peace and happiness.

I will not, Sir, at present presume to meddle with such other defects, as
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but too obviously glare in the face of the public, though hid from your Majesty's view, since if the care and preservation of the state but once enters into the hearts of others, as it naturally must into your Majesty's, the more important being dispatch'd, the lesser will in course subside. No man will dream of contending with the legislature, when they evidently pursue the public good. And therefore the three main points intimated, *viz.* The *Taxes*, the *Smugglers*, and *Rebels*, when cured, I doubt not but the spirit of reformation will go quite through; and thereby render your Majesty the greatest prince on earth, and your subjects the happiest people; which is truly the sincere wish of every honest man in your dominions, and of none more than

Your MAJESTY'S

Most dutiful and affectionate

Subject and Servant

AN ENGLISHMAN.



